

A CATALOGUE AND PARTIAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT CRITICISM
OF THE CIA-NSA RELATIONSHIP

1. The following is a categorization of the various reasons that have been put forward in the press for branding the CIA/NSA relationship "improper," "immoral," "destructive," and etc. The accusations are arranged according to what aspect of the relationship they attack, and a very brief idea of the logic ~~for~~ (?) behind them is given. It is ^{very} important to note that ~~almost~~ ^{many} of the charges are based on the ~~an~~ assumption that CIA "controlled" NSA.

A. CIA "SUEVERTED" NSA:

1. It is charged, usually on the basis of Sam BROOK's statements to the press, that CIA took over NSA and used it:

- (a) as an "ARM OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT" which is considered improper since NSA presented itself ~~as~~ both to the world and to its membership as an independent private organization.
- (b) as an "INTELLIGENCE GATHERING UNIT" which is apparently considered immoral because the students used the appeal of their "innocence," "idealism," and independence to worm their way into the confidence of their foreign counterparts.

2. "IMPROPER OPERATIONAL METHODS" were allegedly used by CIA in "controlling" NSA:

- (a) "COERCION": It is charged that CIA used the ^{following} implied or explicit threats:
 - I. imprisonment for violation of secrecy agreement
 - II. withdrawal of draft deferments
 - III. character assassination
 - IV. surveillance and "bugging"
 - V. ~~expeditions~~ ^{ruining} of careers within the "Establishment."
- (b) "BRIBERY": CIA is charged with:
 - I. paying willing people salary supplements to assure their cooperation.

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II. procuring draft deferments for witting people

III. opening the way for high-level government careers in return for "selling out" their constituency.

(c) "INFILTRATION": Two charges can be placed here:

I. that it was improper for CIA and NSA leaders to cooperate while the mass of the constituency was kept in the dark.

II. that CIA INFLUENCED THE ELECTIONS POLICIES OF NSA
(A Wash. Post article refers to CIA officers being "assigned" this duty.) thus interfering in domestic affairs.

B. "SECRET RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE GOVERNMENT ARE IMMORAL"

1. It is charged that it is immoral for an official of a private organization with a democratic base to enter into a secret relationship with the government. To do this is to violate the trust of the membership and to ~~grossly~~ compromise gravely the independence of the organization. It is "anti-democratic" since the leadership is ignoring the people it is responsible to.
2. It is charged that it is immoral for the government to become involved in controlling or heavily influencing private groups without letting the public know it is doing so. When this happens, members of the group, or consumers of the product (in radio or publishing, for example) are being deceived as to the true nature of what they are paying for or participating in. This is held to be particularly true in the propagating of ideas (policy of org.s, publishing, etc.) since unless openness is required, the government is authorized to use black propaganda against its own people.

C. "SECRET RELATIONSHIPS ENDANGER A FREE SOCIETY"

Secret

1. It is charged that ~~CIA~~ ~~subsidizing~~ subsidizing of private

organizations endangers the openness of American society. The reasoning is that democracy requires that independent voluntary organizations propagate conflicting views and provide the necessary counterbalance to the power of the State. It is assumed that CIA would not subsidize these groups unless it received in return some influence over their policy, and thus the subsidies jeopardize the interplay of free institutions.

2. It is charged that even granting that the subsidies were effective from a Cold War viewpoint, and that nothing was actually done by CIA to endanger free institutions, the precedent of government secret interference with domestic organizations is appallingly dangerous. It is charged that a government with the will to suppress dissent and create a "totalitarian" society could and would use exactly the same means employed by CIA in this case. Thus there should be an absolute prohibition on this kind of activity.
3. The academic community is up in arms because of the revelation of subsidies to a group (NSA) which is assumed to have some kind of academic character. It is charged that CIA is perverting the process of the search for truth by using student and cultural organizations for political ends. The reasoning is that students are, by definition, engaged in the search for truth. NSA is a student organization and so must also be primarily engaged in the search. CIA has been using NSA in pursuit of power, influence, and intelligence, all three of which often conflict with pursuit of pure knowledge. Thus CIA's activities are an attack on academic freedom and the integrity of American scholars.

EX

D. "CIA CAUGHT NSA LEADERS IN AN ETHICAL TRAP"

1. CIA and NSA leaders who cooperated with CIA are accused of adopting "totalitarian means to fight totalitarianism," and thus of having embraced the idea that the "ends justify the means." It is charged that the American and international organizations which were subsidized by CIA were inherently similar to the communist organizations they sought to combat, since both were secretly controlled and subsidized by ~~xxx~~ governments bent on influencing the masses of students and youth. CIA and its collaborators were engaging in exactly the same manipulation, deception and control which they condemn in the East, and therefore, it is argued, what they have done against communism is no better than communism itself.
2. NSA leaders were placed by CIA in an agonizing position from which there was no escape. On the one hand, they were bound by an oath of secrecy and told that what they were doing was in the highest national interest. On the other, they were asked to do things which were ~~despicable~~ "despicable and immoral." Thus they were caught between the "dishonorable" and "unpatriotic" alternative of denouncing the CIA's interference, and the equally immoral one of collaborating. (The various intermediate alternatives are simply ignored in this argument.)
3. It is charged (especially by Ramparts) that the liberal idealism of young student leaders was cynically manipulated by CIA operative who told the students that what they were doing would contribute to "internationalism" at home and abroad. They were allowed to

carry out their liberal and pro-nationalist activities because the CIA wished to gain access to and influence over these groups to further the larger "reactionary" aims of US foreign policy. Thus the student leaders were "dupes" of the "Establishment," which used their best quality-- ~~liberal~~ idealism-- in the service of sordid government ambitions.

IX

E. "CIA HAS DONE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS"

1. It is charged that the pall of doubt cast on all private voluntary organizations (including the National Council of Churches, etc.) by the revelation of covert CIA subsidies has gravely endangered the quality of American life. Since all domestic institutions are in doubt, a crisis of confidence in the American way must inevitably occur.

It is charged that

2. /The work of American organizations and individuals abroad has been seriously compromised. Both the good (non-subsidized) and the bad are now suspect, and Americans will no longer have free access to the confidence of foreigners. The good work of American private organizations in giving a balanced, independent image of the United States has been destroyed. Americans, students and professors especially, will no longer be regarded as "innocents abroad."

F. "IT SHOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO HAPPEN IN THE FIRST PLACE"

1. It is very often argued that private organizations operating abroad should have received public subsidies, since they were

fighting communism. It is argued that the immorality and disastrous consequences of secret subsidies could have been avoided by having Congress publicly allocate support. Some arguments recognize that it would have been difficult to persuade Congress to vote ~~for~~ for this purpose, money, and that the political leanings of many of the groups involved were far too left to be acceptable to Congress. These critics argue that the problem should have been met head on, and that the failure to do so has resulted in "addiction" to covert action and blindness to the moral issues.

2. It is argued that if secret subsidies were to be given, they should have gone through some other arm of the government. It is argued that the CIA is so enmeshed in the more violent and questionable aspects of the Cold War, and is so much the universal scapegoat abroad, that revelation of its role with private groups was bound to do immeasurable damage to everyone concerned. Alternative government agencies with the capacity for covert funding are not usually mentioned.
3. It is often argued that however justifiable the covert funding of private organizations may have been at the height of the Cold War, such subsidies should have been terminated "long ago." The reasoning here is that covert action was justified in a bipolar world in which the Soviet Union's international front activities posed a major danger to the Free World. Since the Bloc has split, and a large number of different ideologies and nationalisms are struggling for influence over the uncommitted, covert subsidies have become unnecessary. The inference is that it was the immediate danger to national security which justified ~~Strong~~ a presence abroad of private voluntary organizations.